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A
PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
British Settlements and Trade
IN
NORTH AMERICA.
VOLUME the FIRST.

W. R. L. & C. O.

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SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

From the FRENCH of Abbé RAYNAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ASTEN LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

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H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

B R I T I S H

Settlements and Trade in AMERICA;

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

1. *First Expeditions of the English in North-America.*

E NGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful and always brilliant, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches which for near a century past flowed from that hemisphere into ours. That great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had for subduing the mind by representing all his proposals

posals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and amongst the merchants. The company that was formed upon the allurements of his magnificent promises, obtained of government, in 1584, the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the trust reposed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages to make their own terms in the trade they proposed to open with them.

Every thing that these successful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages, whom they had insulted; and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their assistance.

This was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who sailed round the globe. The abilities he had shewn in that grand expedition induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his domains which he made use of to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St Jago, Carthage-na, St Domingo, and several other important places; and took a great many rich ships. His instructions were, that, after these operations, he should proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who had survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been disbursed till that time were lost.

The associates, however, were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who by the year 1589 amounted to a hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce.

These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were lost in the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosnold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect, that the right track had not been found out; and that, in steering by the Canary and Caribbee islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him to steer away from the south, and to turn more westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he reached the American coast, he found himself further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, since included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back to England.

The speed and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanoak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exercise their monopoly was then known in England only by
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the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia Company.

The first zeal soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was sufficient for the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the prospect of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune, still more than the thirst of riches, that gives men a dislike to their native country. Nothing less than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by superstition, and excited by the collision of religious opinions.

2. *The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that disturb England.*

THE first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and ge-

nerally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject, lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the profane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, they were always revered by avarice, which the druids had artfully repressed by the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government resided in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more lastingly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. The education of youth was in their hands; and the ascendancy they assumed at that period remained through the rest of life. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as on the private differences between man and man. Whoever dared to resist their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine mysteries, but even from the society of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any converse

converse or to have any dealings with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miseries. The history of human superstitions affords no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity, as none opposed the power of those conquerors with such violence as the druids.

That religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally banished by Christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, in the ruins of an empire that was falling on all sides. Whether it was owing to their indifference for their distant gods, or to their ignorance which was easily persuaded, they readily embraced a worship which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that secured their conquest by abolishing their old forms of worship.

The effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disfigured. Idle contemplations were soon substituted in lieu of active and social virtues; and a stu-

pid veneration for unknown saints, to the worship of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Those who had been at least the promoters of this confusion, knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings; and their persons became sacred. The magistrate had no inspection over their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even superseded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question of law, and into all state affairs, and made themselves umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke, every one listened, in silent attention, to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages, that the scandalous excesses of the clergy did not weaken their authority.

This was owing to its being already founded on great riches. As soon as the priests had taught that religion depended principally upon sacrifices, and required first of all that of fortune and earthly possessions, the nobility, who were sole proprietors of all estates,

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employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of those foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and stripped themselves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They bore no share in the maintenance of society. The payment of taxes with church money would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the price set upon the priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the Old Testament, that by divine appointment the priests had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of place-men.

Rome, who at first was a silent spectator of these proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the
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the success that attended the rich and haughty apostles of a Saviour born in obscurity, and who died an ignominious death, soon coveted a share in the spoils of England. The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means, their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

When these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme authority over it. The frauds of her ambition were covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty, but it was by employing the influence of opinion only. This was setting up men in opposition to themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic judge between the altar and the throne, be-
tween

tween the prince and his subjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from worldly connections, had still an attachment to the world by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions which must incline them to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These vile and abject tools of superstition fulfilled their fatal employment but too successfully. With their intrigues, seconded by favourable occurrences, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. The prince ventured at once to shake off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy over his own church.

This open schism was followed by other
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alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly discussed. Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old religion were retained; and from these several systems or tenets arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of The Church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle; and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, made her inclined to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. That prince, who had been trained up in the principles of the Presbyterians, a sect who, with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity

city of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, and loved to speak in scripture phrases, and to make use of none but scripture names for their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of system prevailed in him over the principles of education. Struck with the episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well constituted empire. In this enthusiasm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful discipline into Scotland, his native country; and to unite to it a great many of the English, who still dissented from it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to the majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented

presented the Presbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

Charles readily adopted his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices that gave the greatest influence on public measures. Those ambitious prelates, now become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that ambition so familiar to the clergy, of raising up ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution; and, to enforce their observance, had recourse to royal acts of arbitrary power.

It was evident that there was a settled design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the Protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to compass it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immo-

immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarce be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism made choice of those troublesome times to recall every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the episcopal church. This law included the Presbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, because they professed to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies, that were in the several countries in Europe. Lastly, the English ambassadors were required to separate from all communion with the foreign protestants; so that England lost all the influence she had abroad, as the head and support of the reformation.

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In this fatal crisis, most of the Puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to resist, turned their views towards North-America, to seek for that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. The enemies of their peace attempted to shut this retreat against these devout fugitives, who wanted to worship God in their own way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to sail, were stopped; and Cromwell is said to have been detained there by that very king whom he afterwards brought to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger than the rage of persecution, surmounted every obstacle; and that region of America was soon filled with presbyterians. The comfort they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all those of their party to follow them, who were not atrocious enough to take delight in those dreadful catastrophes which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view to advance their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereign, took refuge in that hemisphere.

Let us now endeavour to acquire some information respecting that country.


3. *Parallel between the Old and the New World.*

It is surprising that for so long a time so little should have been known of the new world even after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this half of the universe. It was the province of philosophy alone to avail itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyagers and missionaries, in order to see America such as nature hath made it, and to investigate its affinity with the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain, that the new continent has not half the extent of surface as the old. On the other hand, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be seduced to draw consequences from this particular, if it were always not right to be upon our guard against the spirit of system, which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining to it.

The two continents seem to form as it were two broad slips of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, parted on the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever

may be the structure of these two continents, and the balance or symmetry of their form, it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that makes the solidity of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have overthrown. Water, by the motion that is natural to it, and by its gravity likewise, is infinitely better calculated to keep up that harmony and that balance of the several parts round its centre. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of land to the north, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude, America will have a sea full of fish. Whilst forests of trees bending under the largest fruits, the most enormous quadrupeds, the most populous nations, elephants and men, press on the surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles, are found the whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, with clouds of insects, and all the infinite

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and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as if to support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side; if, however, elephants, whales, or men, can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers and sometimes it uncovers a hemisphere, a pole, or a zone; but in general it seems to affect more particularly the equator, as the cold of the poles in some measure takes off that fluidity which constitutes its essence, and imparts to it all its action. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea spreads and is in motion, and that it undergoes the greatest change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those kinds of convulsions occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence; and the sea, to yield to this double impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards the equator. The flatness of the globe towards the poles can only be ascribed to that great extent of water that has hitherto prevented our knowing

any thing of the lands near the south pole. The sea cannot easily pass from within the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea then that constitutes the equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the two regular slips of land which the two continents of the globe present at first view are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is a visible affinity between the two hemispheres, there may be differences between them as striking as the similitude is, which will destroy that supposed harmony we flatter ourselves that we shall find.

When we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence there is between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the cape of Good Hope and cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East-Indies and that of the Leeward Islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa, we are struck with the similarity of the several forms this picture presents. Every where we imagine we see land opposite to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature

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to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea by its fluctuation constantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if, on the other hand, we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which parts the East and West Indies, with the small space the Ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brasil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from East to West, with that of the Cordileras which run from North to South; the mind is at a stand, and we have the mortification to see the order and symmetry vanish with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeased with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. Then, indeed, he is astonished to see a continent so high and so lately discovered, the sea so far below its tops, and so recently come down from the lands that seemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The broad and long rivers of America; the immense forests to the South; the spacious
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lakes

lakes and vast morasses to the North; the eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel as our temperate climates; and, lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the old and new hemispheres; these are so many tokens of a world that is still in its infancy.

Why should the continent of America be so much warmer and so much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, by quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the new hemisphere had not covered its surface, man would very early have cut down the woods, drained the fens, consolidated a soft and watery soil by stirring it up and exposing it to the rays of the sun, opened a free passage to the winds, and raised dikes along the rivers: in short, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world;

world ; when the sea, rolling in the neighbourhood of its coasts, still flows obscurely in its channels. The sun less scorching, more plentiful rains, and thicker and more stagnating vapours, betray either the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly we see more species of animals, by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new ; animals of the same kind considerably larger ; fiercer and more savage monsters, in proportion to the greater increase of mankind. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage ; no beard and no hair : they are degraded in all the tokens of manhood ; and but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all the other factitious ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them as the instruments that are to furnish to their wants ;

they rather sacrifice them to their own indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims by the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex which nature has intrusted with the care of reproducing the species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, as in those of our continent who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This is a radical vice in the other hemisphere, the recency of which is discovered by this kind of imperfection.

But if the Americans are new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those that cover the face of the old world? This is a question which ought not to be hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders

landers are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the old world must have gone over to the new, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south; but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations.

Let us suppose, that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordileras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible, that men, who
had

had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted air, and those numberless calamities which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the succeeding ages of a languid existence? In defiance of all these obstacles, we must allow that America has been peopled by these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing carries the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understandings, which have made so little progress in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily infect the very roots and seeds both of the subsistence and multiplication of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried so as to be fit for tillage and for the foundation of buildings. The earth must necessarily be purified before the air could clear, and the air must be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable.

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The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not a proof of its recent origin, but of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found underground in America, shew that it formerly had elephants, rhinoceroses, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared from those regions. The gold and silver mines that are found just below the surface, are signs of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

Suppose America had, by some means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would be so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices, which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters,
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mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite after a time, though they might at first live in altercations and in continual and bloody wars, yet it was only in process of time that they could invent and establish a worship and a legislation, which they could not possibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. The single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, required more ages to train up an unconnected nation that must have created both those arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in both. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The former is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and duration; while the other has only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeness and uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient as those of our continent which differ so much from each other; but at the same time this circumstance seems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate descent.

4. *Comparison between civilized people and savages.*

WHATEVER may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, a more interesting object of inquiry, perhaps, is, to determine whether these untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal instinct, whose day, which is spent in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is the model of all the rest of his days, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, spins and weaves the thread of the silk-worm to clothe himself, has exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his means of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven to the frigid zones, is not in want of this first of necessaries. If he lays in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always

ways open to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year, and will make up for the deficiency of the dead seasons. The savage has no close houses, or commodious fire-places; but his furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment, and the stove. He works but for his own benefit, sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth; a duty of the nation, not a family bondage. The savage is serious, but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impression of those passions and disorders that leave such shocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the conveniences of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasures are a relief to appetites which are not excited in his sensations. He seldom experiences any of that weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and uneasiness of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate than that of the savage.

vage. He has softer clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the basis and object of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happy, either in those empires where the consequences of war and the imperfection of the police has reduced them to a state of slavery, or in those governments where the progress of luxury and policy has reduced them to a state of servitude. The mixed governments sometimes afford some sparks of happiness, founded on a shadow of liberty; but this happiness is purchased by torrents of blood, which repel tyranny for a time only to let it fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, sooner or later doomed to oppression. Let us but observe how Caligula and Nero have revenged the expulsion of the Tarquins and the death of Cæsar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if so, why do they suffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of despotism; and while it employs violence and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppose it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppressor? Will it not exasperate and provoke him to pursue the victim to death?

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The cries of servitude he calls rebellion; and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and sometimes on a scaffold. The man who should assert the rights of man, would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, must be endured, under the name of authority.

If so, to what outrages is not the civilized man exposed! If he is possessed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he must divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no property, how can he be assured of a permanent subsistence? What species of industry is there secured against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the forests of America, if there is a scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south. The wind or the sun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. Between the gates and bars that shut up our civilized states, if famine, war, or pestilence, should consume an empire, it is a prison where all must expect to perish in misery, or in the horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there must endure all extortions, all the severities,

verities, that the inclemency of the seasons and the injustice of government may bring upon him.]

In our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs the whole year round, on lands that are not his own, and whose produce does not belong to him; and he is even happy, if his assiduous labour procures him a share of the crops he has sown and reaped. Observed and harrassed by a hard and restless landlord, who grudges him the very straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch is daily exposed to diseases, which, joined to his poverty, make him wish for death, rather than for an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave: if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers where he has not sown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must go with them upon services; if he has nothing but his person, the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

In our cities, the workman and the artist who have establishments are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who by the privilege of monopoly have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the sight

of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them, and by the insolence of the pomp that mortifies and tramples upon them.

Even supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that perils of navigation and commerce were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages, who live upon hunting and fishing; suppose that men, who are ever lamenting the sorrows and affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in the midst of the most excruciating tortures; there would still remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that reigns in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

In vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour, stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of political order in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with Heaven, and asking what he had done, that

he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station. Even if great conflicts were inseparable from more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever any prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bearing some natural hardships which the savage is more exposed to than we are, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accustom himself to live among savages, and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman who was cast away on the island of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his

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name,

name, and even the utterance of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burden of social life, when he had lost all reflection or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

Lastly, the consciousness of independence being one of the first instincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices, and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of the savages to that of children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature, and that of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the schoolmaster's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they feel. After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man, whether he is happy; and the savage, whether he is unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute is at an end.

Civilized nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you: but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities
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under which you groan. The more painful this sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

After this inquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is become under their dominion.

5. In what state the English found North America, and what they have done there.

THE first Europeans who went over to settle English colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees, that grew up to the clouds, were so encumbered with creeping plants, that they could not be got at. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. They met only with a few savages, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man; and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals,

more obedient to the laws of nature. The earth produced every thing at pleasure, without assistance, and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasure or conveniences of one species of beings. The rivers now glided freely thro' the forests; now spread themselves quietly in a wide morass; from hence issuing in various streams, they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed with their channels. The spring was restored from the spoils of autumn. The leaves dried and rotted at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious flights of birds. The sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that sported uncontrolled on the desert shores. There nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry, by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made room for commodious habitations. The wild beasts
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were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; whilst thorns and briars made way for rich harvests. The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea, by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships; and thus the new world, like the old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us proceed to the particulars.

B O O K I.

ENGLISH COLONIES SETTLED
AT HUDSON'S BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND,
NOVA SCOTIA, NEW ENGLAND,
NEW YORK, AND NEW JERSEY.

C H A P. I.

Of HUDSON'S BAY.

1. *Climate. Customs of the inhabitants. Trade.*

IN the remotest part stands a solitary object, distinct from the whole, which is called Hudson's bay. This bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about six leagues; but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then extremely dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulphs

gulphs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

The north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the number of shoals that are found there. Happily, however, small groups of islands are met with at different distances, which are of a sufficient height to afford a shelter from the storm. Besides these small Archipelagos, there are in many places large piles of bare rock; but, except the *Alga Marina*, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas. Throughout all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is succeeded by the *Aurora Borealis*, which tinges the hemisphere with coloured rays of such a brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this, there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs; and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles.

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Though the heats in the summer are pretty considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great number of sulphureous exhalations, which, however, are sometimes set on fire by the Aurora Borealis; and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long, and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower because they are most remote from the heart, are extremely short. Wherever they happen to be somewhat longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this heavy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing, and break whatever vessels contain them. Even spirits of wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rocks loosened and detached from the great mass, by the force of the frost. All these phenomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in these regions has an influence upon the weather,

ther, the causes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea-coal, have been discovered. In other respects, the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, where there grows a little grass and some soft wood, the rest of the country offers nothing but very high moss and a few weak shrubs thinly scattered.

This sterility of nature extends itself to every thing. The human race are few in number, and scarce any of its individuals above four feet high. Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to the rest of their bodies, as those of children do. The smallness of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people, because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold that contracts and restrains the springs of growth, and is fatal to the progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. Besides this, all their men, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, which inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, from whence they have taken
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their name, but likewise all that tract of country which extends itself from the point of Belle-Isle to the most northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudson's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with short but flattened noses, the pupil of their eyes yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex; amongst others, very long and flabby breasts. This defect, which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children till they are five or six years old. The children pull their mothers breasts with their hands, and almost suspend themselves by them.

It is not true that there are races of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been since supposed, and afterwards accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How should they dig into a soil, which the cold renders harder than stone? How is it possible they should live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the first melting of the snows? What, however, is certain, and almost equally surprising, is, that they spend the winter under huts run up in haste, and made of flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung up in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat
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of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

The Esquimaux dwell constantly near the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink; which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweat, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This last is, probably, the reason why the mothers have the same custom as the bears, of licking their young ones.

This nation, weak and degraded by nature, is notwithstanding most intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sewed together in the same manner as goat-skin bottles, but at the same time so well closed that it is impossible for water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of herrings thro' the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and seals at the peril of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an inordinate thirst for the whale's oil; which is necessary to preserve the heat in
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their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north, are supplied by nature with a degree of fat which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

The Esquimaux are notwithstanding subject to two fatal disorders; the scurvy, and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light have been bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely; and then it seems rather to blind them, than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A still more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, which they inspire; the dense and inelastic air they breathe in their huts, which are shut up from all communication with the external air; the continued and tedious inactivity

tivity of their winters; a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary; every thing, in short, serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious, and, spreading itself throughout their habitations, is but too probably transmitted by the means of generation.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deserts. One of the reasons of it may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and cooler climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly obscured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps, too, there may be something in the change of life and manners still more contrary to the health of savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the indulgences of an European may be a poison to the Esquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1610 by Henry Hudson. This intrepid mariner, in searching after a north-west passage to the south-seas, discovered three streights, through which he hoped to find out a new way to Asia by America. He sailed boldly into the midst of the new gulph; and was preparing to explore all its parts, when

when his treacherous ship's company put him into the long-boat, with seven others, and left him without either arms or provisions exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians, who refused him the necessaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

The miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. More quiet times had not yet brought it to their remembrance, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, who had met with some discontent at home, informed the English, who were engaged in repairing by trade the mischiefs of discord, of the profits arising from furs, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. Those who proposed the business shewed so much ability, that they were intrusted with the execution; and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well, that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

This success alarmed the French; who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's bay. Their alarms were confirmed

by the unanimous testimony of their Coureurs de Bois, who since 1656 had been four times as far as the borders of the strait. It would have been a desirable thing to have gone by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Groseillers and Radisson, who had been easily brought back to a regard for their country.

These two bold and restless men sailed from Quebec in 1682, upon two vessels badly fitted out; but on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they thought to have taken. From this time there began a rivalry between the two companies, one settled at Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly fed by the disputes it gave birth to, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently taken by the other, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, which gave up the whole to Great Britain.

Hudson's Bay, properly speaking, is only a mart for trade. The severity of the cli-

mate having destroyed all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more than ninety or a hundred soldiers, or factors, comprised in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their business is to receive the furs which the neighbouring savages bring in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

Though these skins are of much more value than those which come out of countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles, and brandy, sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otter's skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Besides this tyranny, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given them; and the fraud amounts to about one third of the value.

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From this regular system of imposition it is easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 10,565 l. 12 s. 6 d. and has been successively increased to 104,146 l. 12 s. 6 d. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of these beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

2. *Whether there is a passage at Hudson's Bay leading to the East Indies.*

BUT it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade if it were made free, which has fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudson's bay always has been and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East-Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.

Cabot was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the south

seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more brilliant than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not ever furnish a fresh conjecture on the end that was proposed. The Dutch, less frequent in their trials, less animated in the means by which they pursued them, were of course not more successful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimæra, when the discovery of Hudson's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

At this period the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, now taken up with her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was favourable to the enterprise. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the different accounts of the adventures divided amongst themselves. While some maintained the possibility, others the probability, and others again asserted the certainty, of the passage; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved

ved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, so many things are concealed in them, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that with the utmost desire of deciding, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators taken up better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures? Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural history, which henceforward must be taken for granted. The first is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other seas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reservoirs by larger or smaller openings; whence it follows, that this periodical motion is scarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and in other gulphs of the same nature. A second matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in those which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them rise

above their ordinary boundaries; and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard the motion of the tides, at the same time that they diminish their swell.

From these principles, it is most certain, that if Hudson's bay were no more than a gulph inclosed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the source, and they would be much less strong wherever they had to resist opposite winds. But it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high throughout the whole of the bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom than even at the very mouth of the bay, or at least in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved, that even this height increases whenever the wind blows from a corner opposite to the streight. It is, therefore, certain, that Hudson's bay has a communication with the ocean, besides that which has been already found out.

Those who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by the supposition of a communication of Hudson's bay with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's straits, are evidently mistaken. They would not scruple to allow it, if they only considered, that the
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tides are much lower in Davis's straits, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudson's.

But if the tides in Hudson's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must come from some part in the south sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the straits.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. Every thing inclines us to think, that the attempts, hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome-bay, on the western coast. First, the bottom of the sea is found there at the depth of about eleven fathom; which is an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency is incompatible either with the waters discharged from rivers, or with melted snow or rain. Secondly, the current keeps this place always free from ice, whilst all the rest of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be

accounted for but by supposing them to come from some western sea. Lastly, the whales, who towards autumn always go in search of the warmest climates, are found in great abundance in these parts towards the end of summer; which would seem to indicate, that they have a way of going from thence to the south seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves into the western coast of Hudson's bay are small and slow, which seems to prove that they do not come from afar; and that consequently the lands which part the two seas are of a small extent. This argument is strengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain sign that the ocean from whence those tides come is very near. If the passage is short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in these latitudes, which do not allow any cakes of ice to continue in them, cannot but give some weight to this conjecture.

The discoveries that still remain to be made are of so much importance, that it
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would be folly to give them up. If the passage so long sought for were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto seem to have been separated by nature from each other. They would soon be extended to the continent of the south seas, and to all the numerous islands scattered upon that immense ocean. The intercourse which has subsisted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe and the most remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniences of a long navigation, would be much brisker, more constant, and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted that the English would be desirous of securing an exclusive enjoyment of the fruits of their activity and expences. This wish would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully supported. But as the advantages obtained would be of such a nature, that it would be impossible always to preserve the sole possession of it, we may venture to foretel, that all nations must in time become partakers of it with them. Whenever this happens, both the straits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented. Whatever the consequences of the discovery may be, it is equally for the interest and dignity of Great Britain to pursue

sue her attempts, till they are either crowned with success, or the impossibility of succeeding is fully demonstrated. The resolution she has already taken in 1745 of promising a considerable reward to the seamen who shall make this important discovery, though it be an equal proof of the wisdom and generosity of her councils, is not alone sufficient to attain the end supposed. The English ministry cannot be ignorant, that all the efforts made either by government, or individuals, will prove abortive, till such time as the trade to Hudson's bay shall be entirely free. The company in whose hands it has been every since 1670, not content with neglecting the chief object of its institution, by taking no steps itself for the discovery of the North-west passage, has thrown every impediment in the way of those who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous spirit, for it is the very spirit of monopoly.

CHAP. II.

Of NEWFOUNDLAND.

1. *Description.*

HAPPILY the exclusive privilege which prevails at Hudson's bay, and seems to ex-

exclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppression to Newfoundland. This island, situated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is separated from the coast of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleisle Straits. It is of a triangular form, and a little more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it, from the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this strait is, that it is full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease, from the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there with design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is intensely cold; less so,
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however, from its situation, than from the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and are stopped on these coasts. The sky towards the north and western parts is constantly serene; it is much less so towards the east and south, both of them being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

This island was originally discovered in 1497, by the Venetian Cabot, at that time in the service of England, who made no settlement there. It was presumed, from the several voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but the cod fishery, which is very common in that sea. Accordingly the English used to send out at first small vessels in the spring, which returned again in autumn with their freight of fish both salt and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal, and there was a great demand for it particularly among the Roman Catholics. The English availed themselves of this superstition, to enrich themselves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly drawn their wealth from England; and thought of forming settlements there. The first, that were established at great intervals from one another, were unsuccessful, and were all forsaken

faken soon after they were founded. The first that acquired any consistence was in 1608; the success of which raised such a spirit of emulation, that, within forty years, all the space between Conception-bay and Cape Ras was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thousand souls. Those who were employed in the fishery, being forced, both from the nature of their occupations and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, cut paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St John's; where, in an excellent harbour, protected by two mountains at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships, they used to meet with privateers from the mother country, who carried off the produce of their fishery, and gave them other necessaries in exchange for it.

The French did not wait for this prosperity of the English trade, to turn their thoughts to Newfoundland. They had for a long time frequented the southern parts of the island, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place they had called the Petit Nord. After this some of them fixed without any order upon the coast from Cape Ray to Chapeau Rouge; and at length they became numerous enough to form something like a town in the bay of Placentia, where
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they had every convenience that could make their fishery successful.

Before the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth; not, however, sufficiently sheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The strait which forms the entrance of the bay is so confined by rocks, that only one vessel can enter at a time, and even that must be towed in. The bay itself is about eighteen leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is an exceeding safe harbour which holds 150 ships. Notwithstanding the advantage of such a situation for securing to France the whole fishery of the southern coast of Newfoundland, the ministry of Versailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a small fort was built at the mouth of the strait, in which a garrison was placed of about fifty men.

Till this period, the inhabitants whom necessity had fixed upon this barren and savage coast had been happily forgotten; but from that time began a system of oppression which continued increasing every day from the rapaciousness of the successive governors. This tyranny, by which the colonists were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was necessary to enable them to pursue their labours with success, must also hinder them from increasing their
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numbers. The French fishery, therefore, could never prosper as that of the English. Notwithstanding this, Great Britain did not forget, at the treaty of Utrecht, the inroads that had so often been made upon their territories by their enterprizing neighbours, who, supported by the Canadians accustomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chase, trained up in the art of bush-fighting, and exercised in sudden attacks, had several times carried devastation into her settlements. This was sufficient to induce her to demand the entire possession of the island, and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to submit to this sacrifice; not, however, without reserving to themselves the right of fishing not only on one part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

2. *Fisberies.*

THE fish which makes these latitudes so famous, is the cod. They are never above three feet long, and often less; but there are no fish in the whole ocean whose mouth is so large in proportion to their size, or which are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glass, are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not digest these hard substances, as it hath long been

been thought; but it hath the power of inverting itself, like a pocket, and thus discharges whatever loads it.

The cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, one with another from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish, and especially the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast the eggs of the cod, which is a bait necessary to catch pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at 7s. 10½d. per ton. If it could be disposed of, a great deal more would be caught; for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This profusion of nature must still be increased at Newfoundland, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

The fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed on the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes an useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This flip of land is one of those mountains formed under water by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it; but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European side, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different; in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shews itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always impetuous around it, which must be owing to the sea being irregularly driven forward by currents, which bear sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and strike against the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence. This is most likely to be the true cause; because on the bank itself, at some distance from the coast, it is as quiet as in a bay, except when there happens to be a forced wind which comes from a greater distance.

From the middle of July to the latter end of August there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the small ones near it; but all the rest of the year the fishery is

carried on. The ships employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry not less than twelve or more than twenty-five men aboard. These fishermen are provided with lines; and before they set to work, catch a fish called the caplin, which is a bait for the cod.

Previous to their entering upon the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of it. This gallery is furnished with barrels, of which the top is beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one of the boys to carry to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall thro' a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold; where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it, is attentive to leave salt enough between the rows of fish which form the piles, to prevent their touching each other, and yet not to leave too much, as either excess would spoil the cod.

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In the right of nature, the fishing upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind: notwithstanding which, the two powers who have colonies in North America have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themselves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations who frequent these latitudes.

In 1768, France set out 145 ships; the expence of which is valued at 111,431*l.* 5*s.* These vessels, which carried in all 8830 tons, were manned by 1700 men; who upon an average, and according to calculations ascertained by being often repeated, must have caught each 700 fish; so that the whole of the fishery must have produced 1,190,000.

These cod are divided into three separate classes; the first consists of those which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the second comprehends those which measure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen inches. If the fishery has yielded, as it commonly does, two fifths of good fish, two fifths of moderate fish, and one fifth of bad, and if the fish has been sold at the common price,

which is 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fishery will amount to 45,937*l.* 10*s.* The hundred weight is composed of 136 cod of the first quality, and of 272 of the second; which two sorts taken together sell for 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* the hundred. Only 136 cod are required to make up the hundred weight of the third class; but this hundred weight sells only for one third of the other, and is worth only 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* when the first is worth 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Consequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught, and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* the hundred weight, which is the mean price of the three sorts of fish, will produce only 45,937*l.* 10*s.* Out of this the crew must receive for their share, which is one fifth, 9,187*l.* 10*s.* Consequently there remains only 36,750*l.* profit for the undertakers. This is not sufficient, as will be easily be made evident. First, we must deduct the expences of unloading; which, for the 145 ships, cannot be reckoned at less than 380*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* The insurance of 111,431*l.* 5*s.* at five per cent. must amount to 5,571*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* As much also must be deducted for the interest of the money. The value of the ships must be estimated at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 74,287*l.* 10*s.* If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of
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the ships, we shall still be obliged to subtract 3,714 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* from the profits. All these sums added together make a loss of 15,631 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* which being assessed upon a capital of 111,431 *l.* 5 *s.* amounts to a loss of 12 *s.* 3 *d.* farthing per cent.

The French ministry must, therefore, either absolutely give up the fishery of the green cod, which is consumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or must take off the enormous duties which are at present imposed upon this kind of consumption. If they delay much longer to sacrifice this insignificant portion of the public revenue to so valuable a branch of trade, they will soon have the mortification to see the revenue disappear with the trade that produced it. The habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the aversion the traders have for selling their ships and stock under prime cost; these are the only motives that induce them still to continue the cod fishery: motives which must certainly have an end; and, if we may judge from the general appearance of dissatisfaction, that end is not very far off.

The English, the produce of whose fishery is subject to no tax, have not the same reasons for giving it up. They have also another advantage; which is, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other places al-

most as near, they can make use of very small vessels, which are easily managed, are not much raised above the water, and where sails may be brought level with the deck, so that being little exposed, even to the most violent winds, their work is seldom interrupted by the roughness of the weather. Besides, they do not, as other seamen, lose their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their sailors are more inured to the fatigues, more accustomed to the cold, and more ready at the business.

The English, however, attend very little to the fishery of the great cod; because they have no mart for disposing of it. In this branch they do not sell half so much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they seldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its spoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their lading, which they sell to the Spanish and Portuguese, and amongst their own countrymen. But they make themselves amends for this trifling exportation of the green cod, by the great superiority they have acquired in all markets for the dry cod.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the Wandering Fishery, belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland,

land, at the end of March, or in April. As they come near the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, which the northern currents push towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These cakes of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and reach to above sixty or eighty fathoms under water. When they are joined to lesser pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may chuse the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which all conspire against human industry. Neither the most formidable rampart erected by military art, nor the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, nor the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight, require so much intrepidity and experience to encounter, as do these enormous floating bulwarks which the sea opposes to these small fleets of fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice to the spot where the ships are to take in their lading.

The first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect scaffolds. These labours employ every body. When they are finished, the company divide: one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish; and the other goes on board in small boats, with three men in those which are intended for the fishery of the caplin, and four for the cod. These last, which are the most numerous, sail before it is light, generally at the distance of three, four, or five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening to the scaffolds near the sea-side, where they deposit the produce of the day.

When one man has taken off the cod's head and emptied the body, he gives it to another, who slices it and puts in salt, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then heaped up in piles, and left for some days to exsude. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

There are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leave those who work at it four hours rest in the night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate keeps up the health of the people against such severe trials; and these labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

But there are some harbours where the
strand

strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal of time is lost in getting to them; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without varech, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is burned up by the reverberation of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains. Even in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts; it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the caplin. The fishermen, who happen to fix at a distance from the places which the fish may chuse to frequent, are very unfortunate; for their expences are all thrown away by the impossibility of following the fish with all that is requisite for the fishery.

The fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun is no longer powerful enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbees, or to the Roman Catholic states in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages

tages of the first market, which might be lost by an over stock.

In 1768, France sent out in this trade 114 vessels, carrying in all 15,590 tons; the prime cost of which, together with the first expences of setting out, had amounted to 247,668*l.* 15*s.* The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fish, and the other half in curing it, consisted of 8022 men. Every fisherman must have taken for his share 6000 cod, and consequently the produce of the whole must have been 24,066,000 cod. Experience shews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Consequently 24,066,000 must have made 162,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average sold at about 14*s.* 5*d.* which makes for the whole sale 138,875*l.* 17*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals must have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 5*l.* 5*s.* a barrel makes 10,106*l.* 5*s.* Add to these, the profits of freight made by the ships in returning home from the ports where they sold their cargoes, which are estimated at 8662*l.* 10*s.* and the total profits of the fishery will not be found to have amounted to more than 157,644*l.* 12*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

We may spare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are as troublesome in their minuteness as in their insignificance. The calculations of these have been
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made with the greatest care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and disinterested men, who from their professions must have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 30,436 *l.* 10 *s.* 9 *d.* so that the net produce of the fishery amounted only to 127,208 *l.* 11 *s.* 3½ *d.*

From these profits the insurance-money must be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 247,668 *l.* 15 *s.* amounts to 14,860 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* We must also reckon the interest of the money; making, at 5 per cent. 12,383 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* Neither must we omit the wear of the ships; the prime cost of which, making half the whole capital, must be set down at 123,834 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* This wear therefore, which cannot be reckoned at less than 6 per cent. must amount to 6191 *l.* 14 *s.* 4½ *d.* Admitting all these circumstances, which indeed cannot be called in question, it follows that the French have lost upon this fishery, in 1768, 30,061 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* and consequently 10 *s.* 7¾ *d.* per cent. of their capital.

Such losses, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wean the nation more and more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that, in imitation of the English, they would have done so already, if like them they had been
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able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By Stationary Fishery, we are to understand that which is made by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it requires much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the errors of government; and, from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments left by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St Peters, and the two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even at liberty to build fortifications upon. There are 800 inhabitants at St Peters, not more than one hundred at great Miquelon, and only one family on the smaller. The fishery, which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the lesser island; but this last supplies them both with wood, and particularly St Peters, which had none of its own. Nature, however, has made amends for this deficiency at St Peters,

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by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this small archipelago. In 1768, they took 24,390 quintals of cod: but this quantity will not much increase; because the English not only refuse the French the liberty of fishing in the narrow channel which separates these islands from the southern coasts of Newfoundland, but have even seized some of the sloops which attempted it.

This severity, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is rendered still more odious by the extensiveness of their own possessions, which reach to all the islands where the fish is to be found. Their principal settlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 English, who are all employed in the fishery. No more than nine or ten ships a-year are sent out from the mother country for this purpose; and there are some few more which engage in other articles of commerce; but the greater part only exchange the productions of Europe for fish, or carry off the fruit of the industry of the inhabitants.

Before 1755, the fisheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, from their own accounts; with this difference only, that France, on account of its population and religion, consumed more at home, and sold less: but since she has lost her possessions in North America, one year with another, the two fisheries, that
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is the Stationary and the Wandering, united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod; which is barely sufficient for the consumption of its southern provinces at home, and of course admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be asserted, that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increased its fishery two thirds since its conquests, making in all 651,115 quintals; the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 12 s. 3 d. a difference owing to its being cured with less care than the French fish, will amount to 398,807 l. 6 s. 6 d. One fourth of this is sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain and her colonies; consequently what is sold in Spain, Portugal, and all the sugar-islands, amounts to a sum of 299,105 l. 9 s. 10½ d. returned to the mother country either in specie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been still more considerable, if, when the court of London made the conquest of Cape Breton and St John's, they had not been so inhuman as to drive out the French whom they found settled there; who have never yet been replaced, and probably never will be. The same bad policy has also been followed in Nova Scotia.

C H A P. III.

Of NOVA SCOTIA.

- i. *The French give it up to England, after having been a long time in possession of it themselves.*

NOVA SCOTIA, by which is at present to be understood all the coast of 300 leagues in length contained between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula lying nearly in the middle of this space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadie, is extremely well situated for the ships which come from the Caribbees to water at. It offers them a great number of excellent ports in which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon the coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The soil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying the cod: it abounds besides with good wood, and land fit for several sorts of cultivation, and extremely well situated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Tho' this climate is in the
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temperate zone, the winters are long and severe; and they are followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, which last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadie, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called the French bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were induced by the beauty of Port-Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is most probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuse this situation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: That both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom restlessness or necessity brought into these regions, from the clearing

ing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, from fishing, and from every kind of culture; chusing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting, or in trading with the savages.

The mischiefs arising from a false system of administration at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be an insult to the truth and dignity of history to say that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when these rights were most openly violated. This sacred tie, which alone can secure the safety of the people, while it gives a sanction to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the most absolute government a spirit of ambition sometimes affects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Lewis XIV. who wished to make their master respectable that they might reflect some dignity on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both these resources had been hitherto choked up in the colonies by the restraints laid upon all things from an improper interference. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia

either knew not how, or was not able, to make use of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement which has since become so famous under the name of New-England was first made in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the cultures in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it; and they were unfortunate enough to succeed.

At their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small nations of savages who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were, however, more sociable in their manners. The missionaries, easily insinuating themselves amongst them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which most exerted its influence on their senses, and the
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only one that favoured their passion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any exchange with the English, but also frequently attacked and plundered their settlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular, since they had chosen St Casteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; he having settled among them, married one of their women, and conforming in every respect to their mode of life.

When the English saw that all efforts either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reason as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever the least hostility took place between the two mother countries, the peninsula was attacked. Having no defence from Canada, from which it was too far distant, and very little from Port-royal, which was only surrounded by a few weak pallisades, it was constantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to dispel the suspicions excited by a nation almost more formidable by what she is able to do, than by what she really does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly,

to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The end of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was for ever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port-royal, which had taken the name of Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government infected the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five English families came over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists; who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered them illustrious, and aggrandized

dized them, they were inspired with that spirit of patriotism which arises from success. They considered it as glorious to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French Neutrals.

There were twelve or thirteen hundred of them settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever set over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and he himself was a total stranger to them.

2. *Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia.*

HUNTING and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might have still supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been established in the marshes and the low lands by repelling the sea and rivers, which covered these plains, with dikes.

These grounds yielded fifty for one at first, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them; but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. They computed as much as sixty thousand head of horned cattle; and most families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built all of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. They bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food for the most part wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had a desire for articles of greater luxury, they drew them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able and had been
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used to provide for its own wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper-currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie which had slipped into the colony did not inspire that activity in which consists its real value.

Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious services the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvest.

These were always plentiful enough to afford more means than there were objects for generosity. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt, without ostentation on the one hand, and without meanness on the other. It was in short a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied them with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1749, all together made a population of eighteen thousand souls.

At this period Great Britain perceived of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all who would go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and

and fifty for their wives and children; ensigns, 200; lieutenants, 300; captains, 460; and all officers of a higher rank, 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax-free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one shilling for fifty acres. Besides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the risk of starving in Europe.

The new colony was intended to form an establishment to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which the savages had formerly called Chebucto, and the English Halifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the spot most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, who mostly frequented it. These savages defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not till after very great losses that the English
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drove them out from their possessions.

This war was not entirely finished, when there was some agitation discovered among the neutral French. A people, whose manners were so simple, and who enjoyed such liberty, could not but perceive that it was impossible there should be any serious thoughts in settling in countries so near to them without their independence being affected by it. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, persuaded them to credit every thing they chose to suggest against the English, whom they called Heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where they were offered lands. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; the rest were preparing to follow, as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those to whom power affords milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they

they assembled those together who were not yet gone; and when they had collected them, immediately embarked them on board of ships, which transported them to the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the fruits of national jealousies, of that rapaciousness inherent to all governments which incessantly preys both upon mankind and upon land! What an enemy loses is reckoned a gain; what he gains, is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be maintained, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundation rased. Rather than surrender, a ship or a fortification is blown up by powder and by mines. A despotic government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to prevent the eruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other.

Thus Spain chose rather to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice-trade. They have oftentimes even thrown whole cargoes into the sea, rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to
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the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the English; and England destroyed the French vessels, to prevent their returning to France. Can we assert, after this, that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes, they were instituted to screen the wicked man, and to secure the man in power.

3. *Present state of Nova Scotia.*

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. It seems as if the envy that depopulated the country had blasted it. At least the punishment of the injustice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a single inhabitant to be seen upon all that length of coast between the river St Lawrence and the peninsula; nor do the rocks, the sands, and marshes, with which it is at present covered, make it probable that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in some of its bays, draws every year a small number of fishermen during the season.

There are only three settlements in the rest of the province. Annapolis, the most ancient of them, waits for fresh inhabitants to take the place of the unhappy Frenchmen who were driven from it; and it seems to pro-

promise them rich returns from the fertility of her soil.

Lunenburg, the second settlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans come from Halifax. At first, it did not promise much success; but it is considerably improved by the unremitted industry of that warlike and wise people, who, contented with defending their own territory, seldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, wherever chance had conducted them.

Halifax will always continue to be the principal place of the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements lavished upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this settlement from its first foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 3937*l.* 10*s.* per annum. Such favours were not ill bestowed upon a city, which, from its situation, is the natural rendezvous of both the land and sea forces which Great Britain sometimes thinks herself obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fisheries and the protection of her sugar-islands, as for the purpose of maintaining her connections with her northern colonies. Halifax, indeed, derives more of its splendor from the motion and activity which

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is constantly kept up in its ports, than either from its cultivation which is trifling, or from its fisheries which have not been considerably improved, though they consist of cod, mackerel, and the seal. It is not even in the state it should be as a fortified town. The malversations of persons employed, who instead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, make it liable to fall without resistance into the hands of the first enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Halifax rated the value of their houses, cattle, and merchandise, at about 295,312*l.* 10*s.* This sum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increased above one fourth since that time.

The desire of putting a stop to this state of languor was, probably, one of the motives which induced the British government to constitute a court of admiralty for all North America, and to place the seat of it at Halifax, in 1763. Before this period, the justices of peace used to be the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality these magistrates used to shew in their judgments for the colony where they were born and which had chosen them, made their ministry useless, and even prejudicial to

to the mother country. It was presumed, that if enlightened men were sent from Europe, and well supported, they would impress more respect for their determination. The event has justified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better observed; but still great inconveniences have ensued from the distance of many provinces from the seat of this new tribunal. It is probable, that, to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the temporary advantage it gains from being the resort of those who come for justice; but it will, probably, find out other natural sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement.

CH A P. IV.

Of NEW ENGLAND.

I. *Foundation.*

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and was actuated by the same turbulent

lent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant-state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia; but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed; and for some time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repopulate it in the north. At length some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in a new hemisphere. They therefore purchased, in 1621, the charter of the English North Virginia Company: for they were not poor enough to wait in patience till their virtues should have made them prosperous. Forty-one families, making in all 120 persons, set out, guided by enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter; and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a

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very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their journey. Near one half perished either from the cold, the scurvy, or distress; the rest were kept alive for some time by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had contracted under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, staid with them to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

This kindness enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds and all sorts of domestic animals. At first they came but slowly; but the persecution of the puritans in England increased the number of proselytes (as is always the case) to such a degree in America,

that, in 1630, they were obliged to form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been driven out of their preferment for their opinions; nor those sectaries, influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had taken the precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a state of subordination; or rather, a severity of manners had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of polity. It was not that their charter had not authorised them to establish any mode of government they might chuse; but these enthusiasts were not agreed amongst themselves upon the plan of their republic, and government was not sufficiently concerned about them to urge them to secure their
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own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation; and this great work, which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government, except he was a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery, were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. On the other hand, marriages were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at 2 s. 11 d. halfpenny per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, or drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But at the same time that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might swear by paying a penalty of a shilling, and break the sabbath for three pounds. It was esteemed an indulgence to be able to atone by money for

a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary that the worship of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death; which was also inflicted on Roman Catholic priests, who should return to the colony after they had been banished, and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped, branded, and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was exposed to pay a considerable fine.

2 *Fanaticism occasions great calamities there.*

THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater rigour. This appeared a blasphemy to those divines who had rather chosen to quit their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural tendency of the human heart from the love of independence to that tyranny, they changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves in order to deny

deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by imposing capital punishment on all who dissented. Whoever was either convicted, or even suspected, of entertaining sentiments of toleration, was exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent; and as New England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it. This severity, which a man turns against himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and makes him either the victim or the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who in the midst of tortures and ignominy praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence; and they caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelty the Spaniards had used against the Indians. This spirit of persecu-

tion was at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more: enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions; were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the second, at his restoration, had introduced amongst his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions; and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was wandering from one court to another in Europe, to recover the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners could possibly have secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne marked with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing
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resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high; and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the frenzy which they excited, broke out, in 1692, in a war, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence as any ever recorded in history.

There lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his house, he compelled her by harsh treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the

pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, pitched upon by chance, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who, because he refused to plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this instant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, the most dignified employments of the state, nothing was sufficient to exempt from the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal power. Fancifism, wickedness, and vengeance, united, selected out their victims with pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions dictated by the executioners

cutioners themselves. If the magistrates, tired out with executions, refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they would no longer pursue; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind, increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent persons quitted a country imbrued with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained sought for nothing but rest in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected; when on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had at first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will probably never know exactly

actly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and which had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication; as all the disorders of the imagination are dispelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation; and the puritans of New-England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

3. *Government, Population, Cultures, Manufactures, Trade, and Navigation, of New England.*

THIS colony, bounded to the north by Canada, to the west by New-York, and to the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles on the borders of the sea, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not done by chance

chance as in the other provinces. From the first they were subjected to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land. The government, which was desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages, and that they should be at hand to partake of the succours of a well regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be formed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the general congress allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chuse out the spot most convenient for their respective habitations, and it is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the centre; and the colonists dividing the land among themselves, each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New-England is continually aggrandizing itself, without discontinuing to make one complete and well-constituted province.

Though the colony is situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not
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so mild as that of some European provinces which are under the same parallel. The winters are longer, and more cold; the summers shorter, and more hot. The sky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

The country is divided into four provinces, which in the beginning had no connection with one another. The necessity of maintaining an armed force against the savages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, at which time they took the name of the United Colonies. In consequence of this league, two deputies from each establishment used to meet in a stated place to deliberate upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the instructions they had received from the assembly by which they were sent. This association controuled in no one point the right which every individual had of acting entirely as he pleased, without either the permission or approbation of the mother country. All the submission of these provinces consisted in a vague acknowledgment of the kings of Britain for their sovereigns.

So slight a dependence displeased Charles II.

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The province of Massachusetts's bay, which, though the smallest, was the richest and the most populous of the four, being guilty of some misdemeanour against government, the king seized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not answer its claims or expectations. The crown reserved to itself the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employments and to all principal posts in the civil and juridical departments: allowing the people of the colony their legislative power, they gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which secured him a sufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, by timely submission, prevented the punishment that of Massachusetts had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachusetts's bay. The same governor presides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each province. According to the most exact calculations, the present population of New-England is computed at four hundred thousand inhabitants, which

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are more numerous to the south than to the north of the colony, where the soil is less fertile. Among such a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to stewards or farmers: most of them are planters in easy circumstances, who live upon their estates and are busied in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican cast than is to be observed in the other colonies.

None of our best fruits have degenerated New-England; it is even said, that the apple is improved, at least it has multiplied exceedingly, and made cyder a more common drink than in any other part of the world. All our roots and garden-stuff have had the same success; but the seeds have not thriven quite so well. Wheat is apt to be blighted; barley grows dry, and oats yield more straw than grain. In default of these the maize, which is usually consumed in making beer, is the resource of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

The arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the same progress as agriculture. There are not more
than

than four or five manufactures of any importance.

The first which was formed, was that for building of ships. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The vessels out of this dock were in great estimation, the materials of which they were constructed being found much less porous and much less apt to split than those of the more southern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are considerably diminished, because the woods for building have been little attended to, and used for other purposes. To prevent this inconvenience, it was proposed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the sea; and we know not for what reason this law, the necessity of which was so evident, was never put in force. The distilling of rum has succeeded better than the building of ships. It was begun from the facility the New-Englanders had of importing large quantities of melasses from the Caribbees. The melasses were at first used in kind for various purposes. By degrees they learnt to distil them. When made into rum, they supplied the neighbouring savages with it, as the Newfoundland fishermen did the other northern provinces, and sailors who frequented the coast of Africa. The degree of imperfection in which this art hath still remained in the colony, has not diminished the sale of it;

it; because they have always been able to afford the rum at a very low price.

The same reason has both supported and increased the manufacture of hats. Though limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal consumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to surmount these obstacles, and to smuggle pretty large quantities of them into the neighbouring settlements.

The colony sells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, as long, tho' not quite so fine, as the English ones, make coarse stuffs, which do extremely well for plain men who live in the country.

Some Presbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the persecutions either of the government or of the clergy, first taught the New Englanders to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are since become one of the great resources of the colony.

The mother country, whose political calculations have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart these several manufactures. She did not perceive, that, by this oppressive conduct of the government, those of her subjects who were employed in clearing this considerable part of the new world must be reduced to the alternative either of

abandoning so good a country, or procuring from among themselves the things of general use and of immediate necessity. Indeed, even these resources would not have been sufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the address to open to themselves several other channels of subsistence, the origin and progress of which we must endeavour to trace.

The first resource they met with from without, was in the fishery. It has been encouraged to such a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who should declare that it had lived upon salt-fish for two days in the week during a whole year, should be disburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abstinence from meat to the protestants, in the same manner as religion prescribes it to the catholics.

Mackerel is caught only in the spring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a considerable river which empties itself in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very centre of the coast, and near Boston, the cod-fish is always in such plenty, that Cape Cod, notwithstanding the sterility of its soil, is one of the most populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fish caught in its own latitudes, New England sends every year about two hundred ves-

fels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a season, and bring back at least a hundred thousand quintals of cod. Besides, there are larger vessels which sail from the same ports, and exchange provisions for the produce of the fishery of those English who are settled in these frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards distributed in the southern parts of Europe and America.

This is not the only article with which the British islands in the new world are supplied by New England. It furnishes them, besides, horses, oxen, hogs, salt meat, butter, tallow, cheese, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, pease, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The same commodities pass into the islands belonging to the other nations, sometimes openly, sometimes by smuggling, but always in lesser quantities during peace than in time of war. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent open similar markets to New England. This province also fetches wines and brandies from the Madeiras and the Azores, and pays for them with cod-fish and corn.

The ports of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, receive annually sixty or seventy of their ships. They come there laden with cod, wood for ship-building, naval stores, corn, and fish-oil;

oil; many of them return with olive-oil, salt, wine, and money, immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandestinely. By this method, they elude the customs they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain, if they went there, as in pursuance of a positive order they ought to do. The ships which do not return to the original port are sold in those where they dispose of their cargo. They have frequently no particular address, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaser.

The mother country receives from this colony yards and masts for the royal navy, planks, pot-ashes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and in years of scarcity some corn. These cargoes come home in ships built by her own merchants, or bought by them of privateers, who build upon speculation.

Besides the trade New England makes of her own productions, she has appropriated great part of the conveying trade between North and South America, in consequence of which the New Englanders are looked upon as the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

Notwithstanding this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to free herself from debt. She has never been able to pay exactly for what she recei-

ved from the mother country, either in productions of her own or of foreign industry, or in those from the East-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 393,750*l*.

She has still, however, trade enough to keep six thousand sailors in constant employment. Her marine consists of five hundred large vessels, which carry all together forty thousand tons burden; besides a great number of smaller vessels for fishing and for the coasting trade, which come out indifferently from all the open roads which are spread all over the coast. Almost all of them load and unload at Boston.

BOSTON, the capital of New England, is situated in a peninsula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachusetts, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which rise above the water; and by a dozen of small islands, the greater part of which are fruitful and inhabited. These dykes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. There are one hundred pieces of cannon, carrying forty-two pounders each,
upon

upon it, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can batter a ship fore and aft before it is possible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, there is a very high light-house, the signals from which, in case of invasion, are perceived and repeated by the fortresses along the whole coast; at the same time that Boston has her own light-houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. Except in the case of a very thick fog, which a few ships may take advantage of to get into some of the smaller islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of the enemy, and to get together ten thousand militia, which can be raised at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles.

Boston port is large enough for six hundred vessels to anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, far enough advanced in the sea for the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to discharge them into the warehouses which are ranged on the

north side. At the extremity of the pier the town appears, built in the form of a crescent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are become with reason the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists, Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians, and Church-of-England men. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs, and manners, are so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it is impossible to find any other difference but that which arises from the overgrown population of large capitals.

CHAP. X.

Of NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY.

1. *New York, founded by the Dutch, passes into the hands of the English.*

NEW-YORK, limited to the east by New-England, and bounded to the west by New-Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and, insensibly enlarging, extends above a hundred and fifty miles northward in the inland country.

This country was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after

after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch East-India company for the discovery of a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name; and after having reconnoitred the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam from whence he had set sail.

According to the European system, which considers the people of the new world as nothing, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It had been discovered by a man in their service, who had taken possession of it in their name, and given up to them all the claims which he himself might have to it. His being an Englishman did not in the least invalidate these uncontrovertable titles. It must, therefore, have occasioned great surprise, when James I. asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if the real country of any man was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so convinced of this, that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered

here. Fortunate beginnings seemed to announce a still greater progress, when in 1664 the colony was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

England, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland that the ambition and successes of Lewis XIV. have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was always extending its prosperous trade to all parts of the world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. These rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and oeconomy, gained the advantage over her in all the large markets of the whole universe. Every effort she made to establish a competition turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, whilst all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants; and resolved, that what they could not compass by industry should be secured to them by force. Charles II. notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him a prospect of acquiring the
riches

riches of these distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions; and the deliberation concluded with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

An English fleet appeared before New Belgia in the month of August. It had three thousand men on board; and so numerous a force precluding every idea as well as every hope of resistance, the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the victors by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set two powers at variance, who for their mutual interests ought always to be friends. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since under the name of New York.

It had taken that name from the duke of York, to whom it had been given by the king in 1664. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, constituted themselves arbitrators in all pri-

private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government. Time produced some other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever since.

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown; which likewise appoints twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence the governor can sign no act. The commons are represented by twenty-seven deputies, chosen by the inhabitants; and these several bodies constitute the general assembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and now continues for seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed.

2. *Flourishing state of New York. Causes of its prosperity.*

SUPPORTED upon a government so solid, so favourable to that liberty which makes every thing prosper, the colony gave itself up entirely to all the labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, soon enabled it to vie successfully with an establishment that had got the start of it in all its productions and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur-trade infinitely more considerable. These means of prosperity, united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have raised its population to one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; five and twenty thousand of whom are able to bear arms, and constitute the national militia.

The colony would still have flourished much more, had not its prosperity been obstructed by the fanaticism of two governors, the oppressive conduct of some others, and the extravagant grants made to some individuals in too high favour; but these inconveniences, which are only temporary under the British

British government, have some of them ceased, and the rest of them are lessened. The province may, therefore, expect to see her productions doubly increased, if the two thirds of its territory, which still remain uncleared, should yield as much as the one third which has already been cultivated.

It is impossible to foresee what influence these riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abused those they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, planted in it that spirit of order and oeconomy which is the characteristic of their nation; and as they always made up the bulk of the people, even after these had changed masters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new colonists brought amongst them by the conquest. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the persecution which drove them out of the Palatinate or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this simple and modest way of life; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade.

What has been the consequence? That the
colony

colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preserved an entire liberty in its sales and purchases, and been enabled always to give to its affairs the direction which has been most advantageous to them. Had the representatives carried the same principles into their administration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burden of which it already feels.

Both the banks of Hudson's river are laid out in the plantations of the colony, which enliven and decorate these borders. It is upon this magnificent canal, which is navigable day and night, in all seasons, and where the tide runs up above a hundred and sixty miles in the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in vessels of forty or fifty tons burden. The staple itself, which is near the sea, is extremely well situated for receiving all the merchandise of the province, and all that comes from LONG ISLAND, which is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel.

This island, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length by twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and sea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether it is that the frequent fisheries have driven away these animals, which generally

rally seek quiet seas and desert shores, they have disappeared, and another branch of industry has been found to supply their loss. As the pastures are most excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horses, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All these different riches flow to the principal market, which is also increased by productions brought from a greater distance. Some parts of New England and New Jersey find their account in pouring their stores into this magazine.

This mart is a very considerable town, which at present has the same name as the colony, and is called NEW YORK. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amsterdam, in an island called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long and not very broad. In 1756, its population amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes. There is not any town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of ease and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houses convey the idea of solidity united to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would hardly hold out twenty-four hours, having no other defence of the road or the town except a bad fort and a stone retrenchment.

New

New York, which stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson's river, has, properly speaking, neither port or basin; but it does not want either, because its road is sufficient. It is from thence that 250 or 300 ships are dispatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a small part of them; but they are the richest, because they are those whose cargo consists in furs and beaver skins. The manner in which the colony gets possession of these peltries is now to be explained.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam in a situation which they thought favourable for the intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring savages offered but few, and those indifferent ones, there was a necessity of pushing to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In consequence of this, a project was formed for an establishment on the banks of Hudson's river, 150 miles distance from the capital. The circumstances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the consent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory required belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were just arrived in Canada.

Upon

Upon an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, they allowed the Dutch to build Fort Orange, which was afterwards called Fort Albany. There was never the least dispute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder, lead, and guns, which they used to give in exchange for skins, secured to themselves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the spoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

Though the English, upon their taking possession of the colony, maintained the union with the savages, they did not think seriously of extending the fur-trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obstacles to their success. The French were accustomed to draw from Albany itself coverlets, thick worsted stuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all which they could sell to the savages with so much the more advantage as these goods bought at Albany cost them one third less than they would have done any other way. Besides, the American nations, who were separated from New York by the

country of the Iroquois, in which nobody chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

Burnet, who was governor of the British colony in 1720, was either the first who saw the evil, or the first who ventured to strike at the root of it. He made the general assembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oswego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal. In consequence of these two operations, the beavers and the other peltries were pretty equally divided between the French and British. The accession of Canada cannot but increase at present the share New York had in the trade, as the latter is better situated for it than the country which disputed it with her.

If the British colony has gained by the acquisition of Canada, it does not appear to have lost any thing by being separated from New Jersey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

3. *In what manner New Jersey fell into the hands of the English. Its present state.*

THE Swedes were, in fact, the first Euro-
VOL. I. K peans

peans who settled in this region about the year 1639. The neglect in which they were left by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at so great a distance, obliged them, at the end of sixteen years, to give themselves up to the Dutch, who united this acquisition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he separated them; and divided the least of them, called New Jersey, between two of his favourites.

Carteret and Berkley, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, had solicited this vast territory with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several adventurers accordingly bought large districts of them at a low price, which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and were directed, like the greater part of the other British colonies, by a governor, a council, and a general assembly.

New Jerfey, fituated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded to the eaft by New York, to the weft by Penfylvania, to the north by unknown land, and to the fouth by the ocean, which wafhes its coafts thro' an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the laft revolution contained only fixteen thoufand inhabitants, the defcendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its firft cultivators, to whom had been added fome Quakers, and fome Church-of-England men, with a greater number of Prefbyterians. The defect of the government ftopped the progrefs and occafioned the indigence of this fmall colony. It might, therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty fhould have been that of its profperity; but almoft all the Europeans who went to the new world in fearch either of an afylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Penfylvania; New Jerfey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not reckon above fifty thoufand whites, united in villages, or difperfed among the plantations, with twenty thoufand blacks.

The poverty of this province not fuffering it in the beginning to open a direct trade with the diftant or foreign markets, it began to fell its productions at Philadelphia, and efpecially at New York, with which there

was an easy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever since, and receives in exchange from the two cities some of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any objects of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchase all the articles of immediate necessity; but is obliged itself to manufacture the greatest part of its clothing.

There is of course very little specie in the colony, which is reduced to the use of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 59,062*l.* 10*s.* As they are current both in Pensylvania and New York, which do not take any of each others bills; they bear an advanced premium above the bills of these two colonies, by being made use of in all the payments between them.

But so trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jersey. It is from out of its own bosom, that is, from the culture of its immense tract of desert country, that it is to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents, it will never recover from the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of; and all its efforts are now directed to this end, in order to enable it to act for itself. It has even already made some with success. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit

fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels, bound to Europe or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried 188,000 quintals of biscuits, six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linseed, iron in bars, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increased one third since that time.

This beginning of riches must raise the emulation, the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the interprises of a colony, which hitherto had not been able to sustain the part in trade which its situation seemed to promise it. If, however, there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themselves, there are a far greater number whom such a neighbourhood entirely crushes and destroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jersey, as will appear from the history we are going to give of Pennsylvania; which, lying too close to this colony, has sometimes stifled it with its shadow, sometimes eclipsed it with its splendor.

B O O K II.

BRITISH COLONIES FOUNDED IN
PENSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA,
MARYLAND, CAROLINA, GEORGIA,
AND FLORIDA.

C H A P. I.

Of P E N S Y L V A N I A.

1. *The Quakers found Pensylvania. Manners
of that sect.*

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great fermentation in the minds of all men; when there arose from the midst of it a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators follow a regular system, composed of doctrines connected with each other; and, in the be-

beginning at least, take arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had looked into the Bible only for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants; and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church: but they had not yet ever practised themselves this only article of faith, which furnished a pretence for separation. The spirit of sedition precluded them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord; to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon; this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought at last of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been inspired at first to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were inspired to compose a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

In the mixed system of intolerance and mildness by which they are guided, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is given to all. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

Every sect which has not preserved the community of all things, which constituted the life and spirit of Christianity, has degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

Magistrates are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A Christian never has occasion for any; nor is a Christian allowed to be one himself.

Christians are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

Both law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ; who has commanded them to let their yea be yea, and their nay nay.

The baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it

it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

Such was, in its origin, the religious system of the Anabaptists. Tho' it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. The masters who govern the people must be better informed, or the laws by which they are conducted must be softened: but there is in fact no such thing in nature as a real equality; it exists only in the system of equity. Even the savages themselves are not equal, when once they are collected into hords. They are only so, while they wander in the woods; and then the man who suffers the produce of his chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A doctrine, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peasants, accordingly, all adopted it with the more
vio-

violence in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in those countries in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorised by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of the Quakers.

This humane and pacific sect had arisen in England amidst the confusions of a war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class

class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

Then he began to think of making proselytes, which he found not in the least difficult in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose notions upon incomprehensible subjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

The first thing by which they caught the eye was the simplicity of their dress; in which there was neither gold nor silver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in

in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

All the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of Master and Servant. They condemned all titles as pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of Eminence or Excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of Friend, they said, was not to be refused by one Christian or citizen to another; but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off one's hat they held to be a want of respect to one's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried it so far, that even the magistrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes, according to the ancient majesty of lan-

language, in the second person and in the singular number.

The austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of Christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate and in a just cause, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

The contempt they had for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the parade of religion; they considered the sabbath as a pernicious idleness, and baptism and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumi-

illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy: sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

The enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called Quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but, instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. Whilst every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses, nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwel, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because

because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and discourage his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration: but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confessed, that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

Amongst the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwel and the two Stuarts who held the reigns of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men commonly are in his profession, had made considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not suffered them to be repaid during his life; and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that, instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country which, though long since discovered, and surrounded by English colonies, had al-
ways

ways been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty; and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thousand.

2. Upon what principles Pennsylvania was founded.

PENN's arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to this extensive territory by the cession of the English ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not the less en-

titled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, never so much as thought of before by the Europeans. He made his acquisition as valid as he could, and by the use he made of it he supplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for this colony as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendor and private felicity; liberty, and property. Here it is that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians spreading depopulation before they took possession, and laying every

thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the seeds of reason, happiness, and humanity, sown and springing up amidst the ruin of an hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

✓ This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every one who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every Christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper; and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

✓ Jealous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony: but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an interest in the law, by having one in the circumstance the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages

frages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

Such was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay twenty pounds for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years, and each of his servants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of about one penny per acre.

To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to protect the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the law that secures them: for, in that case, one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to secure the rest; and law, in process of time, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the very property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade, under very strict penalties, all those who were en-

gaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up, any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were directed to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted, that every child above twelve years old should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune; and preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour either of the mind or of the body.

Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn manifested itself in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, or conquests, or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar,

gar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

3. *Extent, climate, and soil, of Pennsylvania. Its prosperity.*

PENNSYLVANIA is defended to the east by the ocean, to the north by New York and New Jersey, to the south by Virginia and Maryland, to the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles; and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene; the climate, very wholesome of itself, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January,

nuary, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains, and by a gentle heat which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that blow down whole forests and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

Though the country is unequal, it is not less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans first came into the country,

country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every sort of grain, and especially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which has attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, Church-of-England men, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dimplers. It was founded by a German, who, disgusted with the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat; and by degrees

his pious, simple, and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony, which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the out-sides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard; and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumper is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship, nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells, to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them possesses the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they

they love to discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other Christian virtues. They never violate the rest of the Sabbath, which is so much the delight of laborious as well as idle men. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. The doctrine of original sin is with them an impious blasphemy which they abhor, and in general every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the Divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they administer baptism only to the adult. At the same time they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of Christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

Still more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow themselves any law-suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them, without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it consists of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood to serve instead of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great dif-

difference in summer, only that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men except the breeches.

Their common food is only vegetable, not because it is unlawful to make use of any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which has an aversion for blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited into a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. Besides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts necessary to the little society, which are thus produced by united industry, it affords a superfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

Though the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony. But those who find themselves disposed to it leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wise privilege, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks, and in process

process of time would become either savages or libertines.

What is most edifying, and at the same time most extraordinary, is, the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Tho' they are not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brothers, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that must be attributed more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

At the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number must have been considerably increased from that period, since it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr Franklin's calculations. There were still thirty thousand blacks in the province, who met with less ill-usage in this province than in the others, but who were still exceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not easily believed, is, that the subjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their masters; their manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects,
or

or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

The Pensylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems on the one hand to hasten the operations of nature, its inconstancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day.

As, however, these varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal appearance of ease. The œconomy which is so particularly attended to in Pensylvania does not prevent both sexes from being well clothed; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whose circumstances are the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink constantly French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these strong drinks is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy sight of poverty.

poverty. There are no poor in all Pensylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided for out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still further, and is extended even to the most engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 12,256*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Most of them, even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the eruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences.

The Pensylvanians, happy possessors and peaceable tenants of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is only the more happy and the more revered for it. The freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuse the lawyer and priest rather as witnesses

nesses, than ministers, of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off on horseback together. The man gets behind his mistress; and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors; a punishment, one should imagine, very sufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's service a debt of 5*l.* and children under twelve years of age are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty, to pay one of 6*l.* This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the East.

Though there are several villages, and even some cities, in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect,
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and still less influence. Children are not baptized till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two, after their birth.

All the pomp of religion seems reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut up in the grave for ever. As soon as any one is dead in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying ground belonging to his sect; or, if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They all are desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank or fortune.

It is a general observation, that plain and
vir-

virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the care of their burials. The reason of it is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love which is very strong in private families whilst they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father that has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in larger ones; because, though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much stronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French out of Corsica.

But from whence does Pensylvania draw the materials for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that are produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary

dinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the British, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy, and money, they receive in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother country receives from Pennsylvania iron, flax, leather, furs, linseed oil, masts and yards; for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. As these, however, amount to a much greater sum than what it buys, Britain may be considered as a gulph in which all the metals Pennsylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are sunk again. In 1723, Britain sent over goods to Pennsylvania only to the value of 10,937*l.* 10*s.* at present she furnishes to the amount of 437,500*l.* This sum is too con-

siderable for the colonists to be able to pay it, even in depriving themselves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability must continue as long as the improvement of their cultures shall require more considerable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies which enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one halfpenny. The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is necessary in all things, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy that will venture to attack them.

The habitations are cleared in different ways in the colony. Sometimes a huntsman will

will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and heaping them up one over another: and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A few years after the first labours were finished, some more active and richer men arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntsman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that had not been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by persecution, completed these settlements that were as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters removed their industry into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on their cultures than they had at first.

The annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They all, or almost all, come into PHILADELPHIA, which is the capital, from whence they are also dispatched.

This famous city, whose very name recalls every humane feeling, is situated at the con-

flux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper; Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because it is impossible that the colony should not improve greatly, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea. The streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each side of them, there are foot-paths, guarded by posts placed at different distances. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high; and are built either of brick, or of a kind of soft stone, which grows hard by being exposed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickness, because they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the discovery of slate quarries, the walls have acquired a solidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The present buildings have received

ceived an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture: besides which it is become a pretty considerable object of commerce with the greatest part of America.

These valuable materials could not have been commonly found in the houses, if they had not been lavished in the churches. Every sect has its own church, and some of them have several.

The town-house is a building held in as much veneration, though not so much frequented, as the churches. It is constructed in the most sumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legislators of the colony assemble every year, and more frequently if necessary, to settle every thing relative to public business; the whole of which is submitted to the authority of the nation in the persons of its representatives. Next to the town-house is a most elegant library, which owes its existence to the care of the learned Doctor Franklin. In it are found the best English, French, and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. Those who have founded it have a free access to it the whole year. The rest pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund

constantly accumulating is appropriated to the increase of the library; to which have been lately added, in order to make it more useful, some mathematical and philosophical instruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural history.

The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the sciences, was founded in 1749. At first, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764 a class of medicine was established there. Knowledge of every kind and adepts in the sciences will increase in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, shall yield a greater produce. If ever despotism, superstition, or war, should plunge Europe again into that state of barbarism from whence philosophy and the arts have drawn it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply supplied with every assistance human nature can require, and with all the resources industry can make use of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, present a suite of convenient warehouses and recesses ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of frost. There they load the merchandise which has either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or
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or along roads better than are to be met with in most parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progress in this part of the new world, than among the most ancient nations of the old. It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not christen their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained twenty thousand inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impossible that their fortunes should not be very considerable; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one sixth of the land has been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as Newcastle and the other cities of Pennsylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to

accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

When they established that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken some pains for the maintenance of political liberty also, which protects one state from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itself to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

But, on the other hand, how shall we reconcile the strictness of the gospel-maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with that appearance of force, either for offence or defence, which puts all Christian nations in a continual state of war with each other? Besides, what could the French or the Spaniards do if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they should destroy in one night or in one day all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of those mild
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and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it consumes and extinguishes itself, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itself as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the just man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give, assistance. Let, then, the warlike nations, people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania: there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if they are tormented, restrained, or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will go and cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progress rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing but the hatred of mankind and the curses of posterity.

It is upon this prospect and on this foresight, that the Pennsylvanians have founded the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from behind, since

since the French have lost Canada; and the flanks of the colony are sufficiently covered by the British settlements. As for the rest, as they do not see that the most warlike states are the most durable; or that mistrust, which is always awake, makes them rest in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of satisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with so much fear; they live for the present moment, without any thought of a future day. Perhaps, too, they may think themselves secured by those very precautions that are taken in the colonies that surround them. One of the barriers or bulwarks that preserves Pennsylvania from a maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Virginia.

CHAP. II.

OF VIRGINIA and MARYLAND.

1 Wretched state of Virginia at its first settlement.

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all that extensive space which the English proposed to occupy in the continent of North America, is at present confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country which is bounded to the north by Maryland, to the south by Carolina, to the

the west by the Apalachian mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This space contains two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the English first landed at Virginia; and their first settlement was James-Town. Unfortunately the first object that presented itself to them was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank, drew after it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver mines were the only objects of mens researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. Every other labour was instantly suspended to acquire it. And the illusion was so complete, that two ships, which had arrived there with necessaries, were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands; so that a dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that had come from Europe. These few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ships, a fresh colony, and supplies of all kinds.

History has described this nobleman to us as a man whose genius raised him above the common prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was still in its infancy, his only motives had been to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to secure the esteem of posterity, which is the second reward of that generosity that devotes itself totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightened magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them. The colony, however, made but little progress; a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles I.'s accession to the throne; and from

from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2s. upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this moment the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained; and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings arose on all sides, and were surrounded by fresh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came in search either of fortune, or of liberty which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the decision of that deserted monarch's fate. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants, either seduced or intimidated, and seconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony

colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was at least, among those whom Charles had honoured with posts of confidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

The colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from such a step which might naturally have been expected from it. Whilst the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which swallowed up the properties of several obscure colonists; the parliament, on the other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppression drained all the resources and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and, to complete its misfortune, the savages, who had
never

never been sufficiently careſſed, took that opportunity to renew their incurſions with a ſpirit and uniformity of deſign that had never been yet known,

Such a complication of miſfortunes drove the Virginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an inſinuating diſpoſition and an agreeable perſon. They choſe him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was imprudent at the time, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force which he had exerciſed peaceably and without oppoſition for ſix months. His death put a ſtop to all his projects. The malecontents, diſunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences. Mercy inſured obedience; and ſince that

that remarkable crisis the history of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

2. *Administration of Virginia.*

THIS great establishment was governed at the beginning by persons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country; which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, composed of a chief, a council, and deputies from each county; to whose united care the interests of the province were committed. At first, the council and representatives of the people used to meet in the same room: but in 1689 they divided, and had each their separate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This custom has been continued ever since.

The governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the sole disposal of the regular troops, the militia, and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are proposed by the general assembly. Besides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely dissolve this kind of parliament:

ment: he chuses all magistrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner suitable to the established forms, and disposes of the public treasure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to usurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppression.

The council is composed of twelve members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happen to be less than nine in the country, the governor chuses three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper-house, and are at the same time to assist the administration, and to counteract tyranny. They have also the power of rejecting all acts passed in the lower house. The salaries of the whole body amount to no more than 384*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*

Virginia is divided into 25 counties, each of which sends two deputies. James-town and the college have each of them separately the right of naming one, which make up in all 52. Every inhabitant possessed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general assembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in

every two years; and the meeting is very seldom deferred till three. The frequency of these meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution of granting supplies only for a short time. All acts passed in the two houses must be sent over to the sovereign, to receive his sanction; but till that returns, they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

The public revenues of Virginia are collected from different sources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 1*s.* 11½*d.* upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 14*s.* 9*d.* per ton, which every vessel full or empty is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 9*s.* 10*d.* a-head exacted from all passengers, slaves as well as free-men, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and personal estates of those who leave no legitimate heir; these different articles, which together amount to 3,062*l.* 10*s.* are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general assembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audit the accounts.

This assembly, however, has reserved to itself the sole disposition of the funds raised for extraordinary services. These arise from

a duty of entrance upon strong liquors, from one of 19 s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. upon every slave, and one of about 14 s. 9 d. upon every servant, not an Englishman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature must be extremely variable; but in general it is pretty considerable, and has been usually well administered.

Besides these taxes which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. They are a sort of a triple poll-tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The first is raised by order of the general assembly, for the purpose of paying the expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigences. The second, which is called provincial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in each county for its particular uses. The third is parochial, raised by the chief persons of the community, upon every thing that has more or less connection with the established form of worship.

In the beginning justice was administered with that kind of disinterestedness which was itself the security for the equity observed in it. One single court had the cognizance of all causes, and used to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general assembly, which was not less diligent in terminating them. So good a system did not continue long: in 1692 all the statutes

and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its distinct tribunal, composed of a sheriff, his under-officers, and juries. From these courts all causes are carried to the council, where the governor presides, who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as about 295*l*. If the sums contended for are more considerable, the contest may be referred to the king: in all criminal matters the council pronounces without appeal; not that the life of a citizen is of less consequence than his property, but because the application of the law is much easier in criminal than in civil causes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all cases but those of wilful murder and high treason, and even in these he may suspend the execution of the sentence till he has sent to know the king's pleasure.

With respect to religion, the inhabitants not only began themselves by professing that of the church of England; but, in 1642, the assembly passed a decree, which indirectly excluded from the province all those who should not be of this communion. The necessity of peopling the country soon occasioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted so late, and evidently with
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reluctance, produced no great effect. Only five non-conformist churches were added to the colony, one of which consisted of Presbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

The mother church has 39 parishes. Every parish chuses its minister; who must, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes possession. In some parishes, he is paid in land, and furnished with all the necessary instruments for cultivating it; in others, his salary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Besides this, he receives either about 4*s.* 11*d.* or fifty pounds of tobacco, for every marriage; and 1*l.* 19*s.* 4½*d.* or four hundred pounds of tobacco, for every funeral sermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free man. With all these advantages, most of the clergy are not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them.

At first the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after, they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. In the beginning they gave 98*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition,

went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that in 1703 there were already 66,606 white people in the colony. If since that time they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

The first of these slaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable at first; but the increase of them has been so prodigious since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occasions a double loss to mankind, first in exhausting the population of Africa, and secondly in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

Virginia has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be useless in a province, which from its situation and the nature of its productions is protected both from foreign invasions, and from the incursions of the savages wandering about this vast continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is composed of all the free-men from sixteen to sixty years of age, is sufficient to keep the slaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the separate companies three or four times a year. Upon the least alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces

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in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their stated service. Such is the government of Virginia, and such is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was separated from it for reasons which must be explained.

3. *Maryland is detached from Virginia.*

CHARLES the First, far from having any aversion for the Catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the Eighth. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive faith which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened

soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed, from the same religious motives, by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, prevailed upon by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counsels of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were persecuted either for the same religion, or for different opinions.

The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Balti-

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more also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

These wise and generous precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles II. after which they were again disputed with him. Tho' he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interest of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been never to have known his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by two kings, his father and his brother; when he

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was himself removed from the throne which he filled so ill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority; which, however, they likewise recovered, upon becoming members of the church of England.

The province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly; that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

4. *Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions.*

IF Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Appalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure, and subtle,

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as one approaches the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature: in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of nauseous insects that are found there.

All the domestic animals multiply prodigiously; and all sorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables, succeed there extremely well. There is the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes more sandy; more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

From these reservoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, from facilitating the communications.

Most of these rivers have a very extensive inland navigation for merchant-ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack; above eighty up the James, the York, and the

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Rapahannock; and, upon the other rivers, to a distance that varies according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Chesapeake, which has from seven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles in the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Tho' it is full of small islands, most of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous; and so large, that all the ships in the universe might ride there with ease.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies; and accordingly the inhabitants, who were assured that the ships would come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houses, have dispersed themselves upon the borders of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of a rural life, united to all the ease that trade brings into cities; they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had no bounds, united to all the assistance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists: first, because
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her sailors were longer absent, by being obliged to collect their cargoes from these scattered habitations; and secondly, because their ships are exposed to injury from those dangerous insects, which in the months of June and July infest all the rivers of this distant region. The ministry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the colonists to establish staples for the reception of their commodities. The constraint of the laws has not had more effect than persuasion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have collected imperceptibly round each of these fortresses. But it may still be questioned whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population, and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it.

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburgh the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James-town, the other upon those of St Mary, are neither
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of them superior to one of our common villages.

As, in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil; so it has happened, that the increase of habitations, by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind.

These numerous and general expences have exhausted the inhabitants; besides which, they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the British merchants who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their lands; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine *per cent.*

It will be no easy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this desperate state. Their navy does not amount to above a thousand tons; and all they send to the Carribbee islands in corn, cattle, and planks, with

with all they expedite for Europe in hemp, flax, leather, peltry, and walnut-tree or cedar wood, does not bring them a return of more than 43,750*l*. The only resource they have left is in tobacco.

5. *Of the Tobacco-trade.*

TOBACCO is a sharp, caustic, and even venomous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general consumption made of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff. It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Yucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America.

The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscous; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale-green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a soil of a good consistence; but rich, even,

even, deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of sap.

The seeds of the tobacco are sown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at least half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is the size of two feet and a half, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. A single industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour

lour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, and the smell they exhale is increased, and extends to a greater distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exsude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them well. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over; where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation through-

out Maryland. But in process of time the uses of this herb became so general, that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At present each of the colonies furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapness, and even from its coarseness, which makes it better adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces as in the rest of North America, the tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to go and fetch it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship if they would; and if they were, they would not chuse to venture their whole upon one bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the same whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed

pressed by the captains themselves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they would be, the longer time they would be detained in America.

Virginia always pays 1*l.* 19*s.* 4½*d.* freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 1*l.* 14*s.* 5¼*d.* This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage, but it is made up to him by the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five *per cent.* upon these commissions.

This navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a-barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places, is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average sells only for about 2¼*d.* a pound in England, which makes in all 738,281*l.* 5*s.* Besides the advantage it is of to Britain to exchange its manufactures to

the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 442,968 *l.* 15 *s.* besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

The custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of about $6\frac{1}{4}d.$ upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom. This, supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 2,078,124 *l.* 17 *s.* $9\frac{3}{4}d.$ but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 831,250 *l.* 10 *s.* $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ Experience teaches, that a third of this must be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the smuggling that is carried on in the small ports as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 277,084 *l.* 2 *s.* $11\frac{1}{4}d.$ and there will consequently remain for government no more than 554,168 *l.* 16 *s.* $4\frac{1}{2}d.$

Notwithstanding these last abuses, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies, more so even than Carolina.

CHAP. III. Of CAROLINA.

1. *Origin.*

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coast, which is two hundred miles broad, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they despised it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century; who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile soil, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, and in a less agreeable climate.

2. *System of religious and civil government established by Locke.*

THERE was not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley,

Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, and Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir William Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philosopher who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured at least to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of Christians who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refused them in Europe; nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindness which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was the reasoning of Mr Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions which no one hitherto had taken the

liberty

liberty to call in question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different systems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced in the arguments he proposed to them. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only restriction laid upon this saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should at the age of seventeen register themselves in some particular communion.

The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government had restrained his views, as will be the case with every writer who employs his pen for great men or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, whose continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people

esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montequieu himself, did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility, but under new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create in each county two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to be possessed of fourscore thousand. The persons on whom these honours should be bestowed were to compose the upper house; and their possessions were made unalienable, a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the continuance of three lives.

The lower house was formed of the deputies from the several counties and towns.

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The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one shilling per acre, and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both slaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the first order they should receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the faults of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to discover themselves. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful effort of industry. The whole province, distracted with quarrels, dissensions, and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progress, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation.

Nor were these evils sufficient : new ones arose, as if a remedy could only be attained from an excess of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, was in 1705 sole governor of the colony, formed the

the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who made up two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered, and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to make an ill use of. They received, however, 23,625 *l.* by way of compensation. From this time the crown resumed the government; and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration

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of it. It is from this happy period that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

3. *Climate and produce.*

THERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world, a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But, on the other hand, here, as well as in every other part almost of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regularity in their diet and clothing which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the islands.

A vast, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land. From this distance the country, beginning to rise, affords

fords a more pleasing prospect, a purer and drier air. This part, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing, as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood; by which means more land could be cleared here in a week, than in several months among us.

The soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast, and about the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the sea, it is either covered with impracticable and unhealthful morasses; or made up of a pale, light, sandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part, it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. At a distance from the coasts, there are found sometimes large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; at others there are lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. These variations cease when you get into the inland parts, and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

Admirably adapted as these spots are for the purposes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are raised here; which go out in the morn-

morning, without a herdsman, to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are suffered to fatten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in flesh and wool. For this reason it is less common.

In 1723, the whole colony consisted of no more than four thousand white people, and thirty-two thousand blacks. Its exportations to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 216,562*l.* 10*s.* Since that time it hath acquired a degree of splendour which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

South Carolina, though it hath succeeded in establishing a considerable barter trade with the savages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff by mixing the silk it produces with its wool; yet is its progress principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

The first of these articles was brought there by an accident. A ship, on its return from India, ran aground on this coast. It was laden with rice; which, being tossed on shore by the waves, grew up again. This unexpected good fortune led them to try the cultivation of a commodity which the soil seemed of itself to require. For a long time
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little progress was made in it; because the colonists being obliged to send their crops to the mother country, from whence they were shipped again for Spain and Portugal, where the consumption was, sold them at so low a price that it scarce answered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when a more enlightened ministry gave them permission to export and sell their grain themselves at foreign markets, an increase of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at present greatly augmented, and may be still more; but whether so much to the benefit of the colony, is doubtful. Of all productions, rice is the most detrimental to the salubrity of the climate; at least, it hath been esteemed so in the Milanese, where the peasants on the rice-grounds are all of them fallow complexioned and dropical; and in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Egypt had without doubt its precautions against the ill effects of a grain in other respects so nutritious. China must also have its preservatives, which art sets up against nature, whose favours are sometimes attended with pernicious consequences. Perhaps also under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greatest abundance, the heat, which makes it flourish in the midst of water, quickly disperses the moist and noxious vapours

pours that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice should one day come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

This plant, which is a native of Indostan, was first brought to perfection in Mexico and the Leeward islands. It was tried later, and with less success, in South Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of so inferior a quality, that it is scarce sold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet those who cultivate it do not despair in time of supplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodness of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapness of their provisions, the opportunities they have of supplying themselves with utensils and of procuring slaves; every thing, in short, flatters their expectation: and the same hope has always extended itself to the inhabitants of North Carolina.

It is well known, that this country was the first, on the continent of the new world, on which the English landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took possession of in 1585. A total emigration, in a short time, left it destitute of colonists; nor did it begin to be repeopled, even when large settlements were established in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwise account for this dereliction, than from
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the obstacles which trading vessels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ships of more than seventy or eighty tons. Those of greater burden are forced to anchor between the continent and some adjacent islands. The tenders, which are employed in lading and unlading them, augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

From this circumstance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina in the beginning was inhabited only by a set of wretches without name, laws, or profession. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more scarce, those who were not able to purchase them betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. Refugees of other kinds availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property became established at the same time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European settlers.

The first people, whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the breeding of cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a short time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch.

For the turpentine, they had nothing to do but to make to flits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed vessels to receive it. When they wanted tar; they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to these they set fire, and the resin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it; or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid state. This labour, however, was not sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being subject to mildew, and to exhaust itself in straw, never throve. But several experiments having proved to the North-Carolinians that they were not liable to the same inconvenience, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to supply a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province, to join the harvests of Africa and Asia to those of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

There is scarce one twentieth part of the

territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated spots are those which are the most sandy and the nearest to the sea. The reason why the colonists have not settled farther back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit shipping higher than sixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

Neither of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed 5,906 *l.* 5 *s.* The paper-currency of North Carolina does not amount to more than 49,118 *l.* 15 *s.* and that of South Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 246,093 *l.* 15 *s.* Neither of them is in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, the Leeward islands, and to Europe.

In 1754, there were exported from South Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thousand nine hundred

dred and forty-three of tar; five thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or rosin; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and sixty of pork; sixteen thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn, and nine thousand one hundred and sixty-two of pease; four thousand one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million one hundred and forty thousand planks, two hundred and six thousand joists, and three hundred and eighty-five thousand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogsheds of wild deer-skins; one hundred and four thousand six hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice; two hundred and sixteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-four pounds of indigo.

In the same year North Carolina exported sixty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar, twelve thousand and fifty-five of pitch, and ten thousand four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; seven hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and thirty planks, and two thousand six hundred and forty-seven feet of timber; sixty-one thousand, five hundred bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of pease; three thousand three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogsheds of tobacco; ten thousand hundred-weight of

tanned hides, and thirty thousand skins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a single article that has not been considerably increased since that time. Several of them have been doubled; and the most valuable of all, the indigo, has increased to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbees, tho' there is no staple town to receive them, and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which has been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can scarce be considered as small villages. The largest and most valuable part of its exports is conveyed to CHARLES-TOWN, to increase the riches of South Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashley; surrounded by the most beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the centre and the capital. It is well built, intersected with several agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the accession and circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people: of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniences of luxury are most to be met with. But the dif-

disadvantage its road labours under, of not being able to admit of ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for *Port Royal*, which admits vessels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and may most probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the productions of North and South Carolina, that will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established near it.

CHAP. IV.

Of GEORGIA.

1. *Foundation.*

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles upon the sea-coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those in-

stances of benevolence, which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners, as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled; it was named *Georgia*, in honour of the reigning sovereign.

This instance of respect, the more pleasing as it was not the effect of flattery, and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 9843*l.* 15*s.* to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired,

quired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were to be sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot at ten miles distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called *Savannah* from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons; but, before the end of the year, the number was increased to 618, 127 of whom had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men and 113 women, 102 lads and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

This settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alatomaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

In the same year, a great number of protestants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy

peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot situated just above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called *Ebenezer*.

Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, consisting of a hundred habitations, was named *Pursburgh*, from Pury their founder, who, having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that, as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of the skins was with much greater facility carried on, from
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the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 64,968*l.* 15*s.* independent of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But to her great surprise, she received information in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into and discovered.

2. *Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.*

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations as well as individuals do not learn instruction from past misconduct. An enlightened government, tho' checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every mis-

misuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

The first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon

upon his imagination. Whatever limits are prescribed to his industry, are, therefore, so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this colony, which prevented its increase.

The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the British colonies, are very inconsiderable; and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest duty imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another; which, however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought, that a
country,

country, destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by the mother country than their neighbours who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

The indolence which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholesome; and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this, it prevented their commerce with the Antilles; as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their most valuable commodities, in return for the rum of those islands.

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The mother country at length perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with; and the government in Georgia was settled upon the same plan as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and, instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions.

Though this colony has not so extensive a territory, so temperate a climate, nor so fertile a soil, as the neighbouring province; and though it can never be so flourishing as Carolina, notwithstanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almost all the same productions; yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehensions arising from the tyranny of its government, which have with reason prevented people from settling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be asserted, that Georgia is the least populous of all the English colonies upon the continent, notwithstanding the succours government has so amply bestowed upon it. All these advantages will fortunately be increased by the acquisition of Florida; a province which from its vicinity must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention for still more important reasons.

CHAP. V.

OF FLORIDA.

1. *History of Florida. Its cession from the Spaniards to the British.*

UNDER the name of Florida, the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America which extends from Mexico to the most northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often satisfied themselves in preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themselves, were desirous in 1565 of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there.

The most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of St Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the Sassafras upon it.

This tree, a native of America, is better
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in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is straight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infusion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very serviceable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish, and aromatic taste; and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscous humours, and relieving palsies and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints.

The first Spaniards who settled there, would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, but for the assistance of this powerful remedy; they would, at least, not have recovered from those dangerous fevers they were generally subject to at St Mattheo, whether in consequence of the food of the country or the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking, in a morning fasting, and at their meals, water in which sassafras had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a speedy recovery.

very. The experiment, upon trial, proved successful. But still the village never emerged from the obscurity and distress which were, undoubtedly, the natural and insurmountable consequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

Another establishment was formed upon the same coast, at fifteen leagues distance from St Mattheo, known by the name of St Augustine. The English attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, who were desirous of covering the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A sergeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner:

“ Heroes and patriarchs of the western
 “ world, you were not the enemies I fought
 “ for; but you have at last been the conquer-
 “ ors. The chance of war has thrown me in
 “ your power. Make what use you please of
 “ the right of conquest. This is a right I do
 “ not call in question. But as it is custom-
 “ ary in my country to offer a ransom for
 “ one’s life, listen to a proposal not unwor-
 “ thy your notice.

“ Know then, valiant Americans, that in
 “ the country of which I am a native, there
 “ are some men who possess a superior know-
 “ ledge of the secrets of nature. One of those
 “ sages, connected to me by the ties of kin-
 “ dred, imparted to me, when I became a
 “ soldier, a charm to make me invulnerable.
 “ You must have observed how I have esca-
 “ ped all your darts: without such a charm,
 “ would it have been possible for me to have
 “ survived all the mortal blows you have aim-
 “ ed at me? For I appeal to your own valour,
 “ to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted
 “ itself, and has not avoided any danger.
 “ Life is not so much the object of my re-
 “ quest, as the glory of having communicated
 “ to you a secret of so much consequence to
 “ your safety, and of rendering the most va-
 “ liant nation upon the earth, invincible.
 “ Suffer me only to have one of my hands at
 “ liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies
 “ of enchantment, of which I will now make
 “ trial on myself before you.”

The Indians listened with eagerness to this
 discourse, which was flattering both to their
 warlike character and their turn for the
 marvellous. After a short consultation, they
 untied one of the prisoner's arms. The High-
 lander begged that they would put his broad
 sword into the hands of the most expert and
 stoutest among them; and at the same time

laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied with magic signs, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance: "Observe now, O valiant Indians, an incontestable proof of my honesty. Thou warrior, who now holds my keen-cutting weapon, do thou now strike with all thy strength: far from being able to sever my head from my body, thou wilt not even wound the skin of my neck."

He had scarcely spoke these words, when the Indian, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the sergeant to the distance of twenty feet. The savages, astonished, stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger, and then turning their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants than in constructing of buildings, had formed only those two settle-

settlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At four-score leagues distance from St Augustine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raised that of St Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this situation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already lost all the little consequence it had at first obtained, when the English settled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely destroyed it.

At the distance of thirty leagues further, was another colony, known by the name of St Joseph, but of less consequence than that of St Mark. Situated on a flat coast, and exposed to every wind, and on a barren soil and an uncultivated country, it was the last place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, some Spaniards settled there.

Those Spaniards who had formed an establishment at the bay of Pensacola upon the borders of Louisiana, were at least happier in their choice of situation. The soil was susceptible of culture; and there was a road which, had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the best ships that arrived there had not soon been worm-eaten.

These five colonies, scattered over a space

sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants surpassing each other in sloth and poverty. They were all supported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they sold at the Havannah, and the provisions with which they served their garrison, whose pay amounted to 32,822l. 10s. enabled them to purchase cloths and whatever else their soil did not furnish them with. Notwithstanding the miserable state in which they had been left by the mother country, the greatest part of them chose to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to Britain by the treaty of 1763. This acquisition, therefore, was no more than a desert; yet still it was some advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent, and disaffected inhabitants.

Great Britain was pleased with the prospect of peopling a vast province, whose limits have been extended even to the Mississippi by the cession France has made of part of Louisiana. The better to fulfil her project, she has divided it into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida.

The British had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view but in the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an
advan-

advantage so precarious and momentary, was not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this, the British give every encouragement to promote culture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 9,007*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

2. *By what means Britain may render Florida useful to her.*

It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence, with time and good management, may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. Their first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the Protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population
be

be increased, if the sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would they then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burned, and their labourers massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives? Surely a generous nation, which has made such great and such continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vast tract of the new world, should prefer to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities, a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb her tranquillity!

The British flatter themselves, that without the assistance of these alliances they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to
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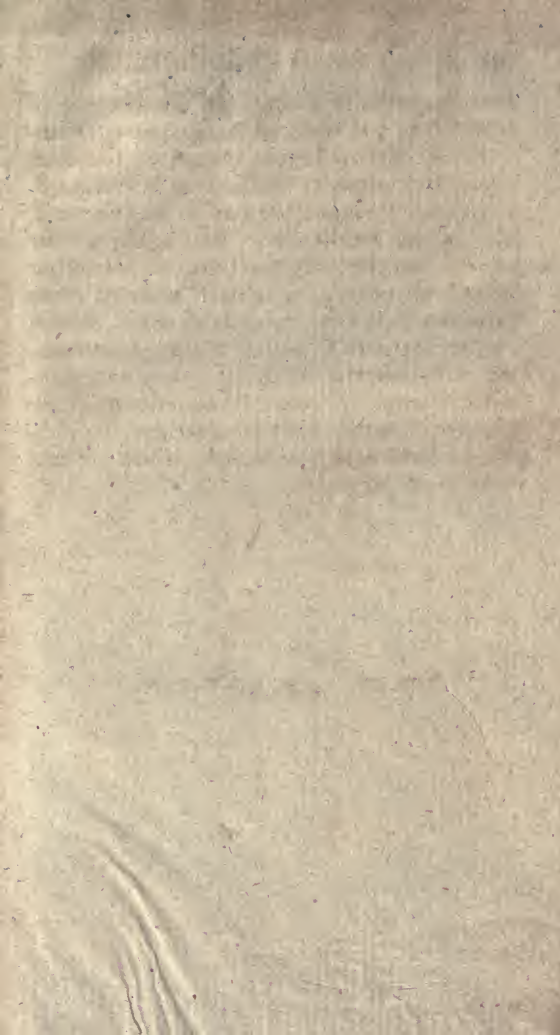
the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of land which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's bay, where they must necessarily encroach upon each other, and in a short time must perish for want of subsistence.

But before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgot the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broken with the British in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. "How can it be," said their leader, "that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?" Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was
to

to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be resumed, and it is not impossible but it may succeed. Should this be the case, the English will be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded, at least, if not entirely cut off.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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